

GRAVE DIFFERENCES SEPARATE FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN

Sir Philip Gibbs Frankly
Discusses Causes of Grow-
ing Antagonism.

SEES PERIL IN POLICY

French Demand for Big
Submarine Fleet Is Men-
ace to England.

GERMANY DIVIDES THEM

Recovery Desired by British,
French Opposed to Per-
mitting It.

By SIR PHILIP GIBBS.

Special Cable to The New York Herald.
LONDON, Jan. 7.—There is no ques-
tion so important now in its bearing
on the future peace settlement of the
world as the political attitude of
France toward European reconstruction
and her state of mind regarding
England. This is a difficult question
to discuss frankly by an Englishman
who is a friend of France, as most
Englishmen I know desire to be, re-
membering with admiration and emotion
the heroism of the French people with
whom the flower of our youth
fought and died.

It is not only difficult but impos-
sible for us to believe that with so
many fields of France filled with our
dead there should quickly after that
be differences in view so vital, so
passionate, so menacing that they
should conjure up, however faintly,
the awful possibility of conflict be-
tween us in coming years.

Yet I should be a liar if I disguised
the painful truth that our differences
are of that extreme and perilous kind,
and that the French demand for great
submarine power, following a three
year campaign of bitter criticism of all
England does and desires, has caused
the most shocking sensation and an-
xiety throughout the British Empire.

I can hardly expect to be believed
by Americans when I say that even
since the discussion of the peace
treaty at Versailles, when French
criticism of our political views began
to be heard with increasing asperity,
there has been a benevolent con-
spiracy of silence on the part of the
British press, hiding from our own
people many of the ill natured com-
ments and hardly veiled insults in the
French journals. That that is true
every English journalist still bears
witness, especially every journalist in
Paris who has long been mortified and
irritated by the continued campaign
of calumny, not done by irresponsible
writers nor with the usual license of
French satirical papers, but obviously
directed and engineered as official
propaganda.

British Press Patient.

It is to the honor of the British
press, by no means spotless and con-
sistently high souled, that there has
been very little retaliation beyond oc-
casional protests, and few general re-
ports as to this unkindness. From
the *Times* all along the line the Brit-
ish press has been patient and gen-
erous with France, trying to make full
allowances for her point of view, en-
deavoring—though as I must admit
generally failing—to understand her
state of mind. Now, over submarines
and German reparations, the strained
relations have reached such a pitch
that neither side can be spared over
friendly platitudes any longer, and
the British public is face to face with
the fact that French opinion, or at
least French Government policy, is
utterly hostile to our own, and is pre-
pared to sustain that hostility by
measures which directly challenge our
future existence.

That is so at least until the French
Government entirely withdraws its
claim to the vast expansion of sub-
marine power. There is not a single
man or woman in Great Britain who
doesn't agree absolutely with Mr. Bal-
four that we can never willingly allow
France to sew the Channel with sub-
marines which can have no other ob-
ject at all than to sink British mer-
chant ships and British cruisers the
time of war. There is no other use
to which such weapons could be put
and France has so far declined to
name an alternative use, though
treating the suggestion that it men-
aces Britain as an insult unworthy an
answer.

It needs no argument to show that
Britain is utterly dependent on the
highways of the seas for her vital
needs, whereas France is immune
from attack by sea owing to her con-
tinental position. Great Britain could
be strangled to death in three months
cut off from communication. It would
stop her arteries, her heart's
blood on the other hand, no British
army could inflict a mortal blow on
France in three months, or three hun-
dred.

France Has No Grievance.

Now, what is behind all this French
policy? Has France real causes of
jealousy against the British nation?
Have we betrayed her, stepped across
her path, acted in any way ungener-
ously? If I believed we had done so
I should say so, regardless of conse-
quences, but I cannot discover any
single case in which we have not
dealt fairly and squarely with our
French neighbors. They accuse us of
intriguing against their interests in
Syria. So far from that being the
case, our officers, as I happen to know,
were instructed to defer toward
France in every way at Beyrouth,
Aleppo and in Cilicia, and they carried
out their instructions in the most
friendly spirit.

They say that we gained everything
out of the peace treaty, that France
gained nothing. That indictment can-
not be maintained. The German fleet,

which was our greatest peril, was
scrapped, and Germany, which was
the greatest menace to France, was
disarmed. Very foolishly we took
mandates over the German colonies in
Africa, which are now costing us
money we can ill afford, but France
has more colonial territory in north
Africa than she can manage and as
much, anyhow, as Clemenceau desired.
France has not paid one penny of
her immense debts to us (\$500,000,000)
and we have not asked her to pay. On
the contrary when she went outside
the Versailles Treaty and made a sepa-
rate arrangement with Germany at
Wiesbaden and afterward a separate
peace with the Turks, we did not re-
proach her indignantly for such com-
pacts, which we should have been jus-
tified in resenting as not very scrupu-
lous in loyalty. The general body of
opinion in England was all for French
priority in any payments from Ger-
many, and was favorably disposed to
make a clean sweep of all French
debts to us.

It is possible that France has some
legitimate grievances against us. It
is almost certain that on minor points
she may be justified in some irritation
against us, for no two peoples can
please each other every time. But
broadly and largely Britain has not
been guilty of any mean, ungentle-
manly or disloyal act toward the
French Government or people.

Germany the Obstacle.

What is the cause of the ill feeling
in France? It is, alas, very simple,
and utterly inalienable unless the
French state of mind changes funda-
mentally. It boils down to this:
Whereas Great Britain for the sake
of her own trade and markets, which
are stricken with creeping paralysis,
recognizes the need of German re-
covery of prosperity, France, not so
dependent on her export trade, sup-
plying her own food, and determined
to obtain German indemnities, does
not intend to let Germany become
strong again, because with such
strength will revive the old peril
along the frontiers. Those two angles
she thought can never meet except in
conflict, and she sees no chance of their
meeting, at every point, in every conver-
sation, in every negotiation. France sees
nothing but treachery in every British
proposal to Germany of a little relief,
back treachery in British hopes that
Upper Silesia would be adjudged
mainly to Germany, the most horrible
injury in the British inclination
to modify the terms of German repara-
tions.

I can understand the French sus-
picion and disgust because we seem to
be leaning always to the German side
of the argument, shrinking from the
French severities in dealing with the
enemy. How is it, they ask naturally,
that you are so much more reason-
able in the German arguments and
German pleas for postponement or
avoidance of debts, German insin-
cerities and dishonesties?

The answer is simple, but uncon-
vincing to any Frenchman. Because
England there are approaching two
million people out of work because
British exports—manufactures and
goods, upon which our life as a nation
depends, have declined by 63 per cent.,
because our ships are without cargoes
and the world's carrying trades are
strangled; because England will per-
ish unless there is a revival of pros-
perity in Europe, which can never
happen if Germany is kept in a hand-
icapped state, so reacting in decadence
and disease upon all surrounding
countries.

There are other thoughts in the
minds of the British people not so
material—hope of idealists who believe
in the spirit of the Washington con-
ference who see no chance for peace
in the world, no return to common
sense, unless there is a washout of
old enmities and forgiveness of sins
in a large, practical sense. But it is
useless to talk to the French people
along those lines because their long
sufferings have made them cynical,
and tradition has made them believe
in the idealism of Great Britain, for
which in the past they have, I admit,
some justification.

What will be the outcome of this
difference between France and Eng-
land? America, perhaps, will hold the
scales. It is only American influence
thrown on the side of disarmament
and the abolition of submarine power,
as well as the side of economic ar-
rangements based upon international
justice and sanity, that can stifle a
new peril to the peace of the world.
There will be no spirit of peace if
France insists on naval as well as
military power in order to enforce her
will on Europe regardless of the gen-
eral ruin. Great Britain has no such
ambitions. For self-interest alone bids
her work for the recovery of all na-
tions, for good will among them, be-
cause otherwise her own prosperity
will never return. Neither America
nor Great Britain need be self-right-
eous because their material interests
are best served by help to Europe.

France must be converted to that way
of thought by those among her own
people, many of them, who already
hold their faith.

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RUSSIAN REFUGEES PESTS ON THE RIVIERA

Some Titled, All Moneyless
and a Few Criminals.

Special Cable to The New York Herald.
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New York Herald Bureau,
Paris, Jan. 7.
The Riviera police are finding a dif-
ficult task ahead of them in their ef-
forts to cope with the Russian invasion.
All the second-rate hotels and boarding
houses along the French Riviera are
filled with refugees from Russia. They
have little money and are relying on
French sympathy to keep them from
hunger. Many of these refugees were
wealthy formerly and some of them are
titled persons. They pass most of
their time in the casinos, gambling
establishments in the hope of sharing
some player's run of luck.
Naturally, as their funds give out
some of them are turning to crime.
With the result that they are becom-
ing the scene of an unprecedented
number of holdups and burglaries, and
even attempts at assassinations, which
the police declare are traceable to
Russians.

WANTS TWO WARSHIPS.

Resort Would Use Them as Har-
bor Gate.
MIAMI BEACH, Cal., Jan. 7.—Miami
Beach would like to have a brace of war-
ships when Uncle Sam gets ready to
scrap the greater part of the fleet, and
the City Council has voted to re-
quest that the Navy Department send
two vessels here to be sunk off the jetty
at the entrance to Biscayne Bay. The
Councilmen think they would make an
imposing harbor gate.

DEMOCRATS IN CITY SUPREME BY 212,393

663,836 Enrolled in Party
Compared to 451,443
Republicans.

HYLAN BALLOT MAGNET

Harding Lead of 112,463 on
Registration Books Re-
versed in 1921.

SOCIALISTS LOSE 40 P. C.

Farmer-Labor First Showing
Is 2,706 Members—Decrease
for Prohibitionists.

New York is again a Democratic
city—and by a thumping big margin—
if party enrollment figures are taken
as the standard.

Figures for the 1921-1922 enroll-
ment, taken at the registration in
November and made public yesterday
by John R. Voorhis, president of the
Board of Elections, show the Demo-
crats to have 663,836 enrolled party
members to 451,443 for the Republi-
cans, a margin of 212,393.

In 1920, the Harding year, the Re-
publicans enrolled 643,830 members to
531,167 for the Democrats, topping the
traditional Democratic party in New
York city by 112,463—and for the first
time in history by any margin at all.
To achieve this there was an accession
by the Republicans in twelve months

of 275,437. In 1919 the Democrats had
an excess enrollment over the Republi-
cans of 162,974.
But the Democrats between the elec-
tion of President Harding and the elec-
tion of Mayor Hylan achieved a gain in
enrollment of 324,756. In that twelve
months the Republicans lost 192,187,
about 50 per cent., and the Democrats
gained 136,569, or 25 per cent.

Swung by Personalities.

It was generally conceded that Republi-
can enrollment in the Harding year
was above normal. Many Democrats
who wanted to vote for the Presidential
candidate had the impression that they
would have to enroll in that party to
make their vote legal. For the same
reason it is felt that the Democratic
enrollment this year probably is swollen
by many normal Republicans who de-
sired, for one reason or another, to sup-
port Hylan. In the enrollment blank the
voter must declare that "it is my in-
tention to support generally the Demo-
cratic election, State or national, the
nominees of such party (the one with
which he or she enrolls) for State or
national office."

This, of course, would not lead any
body reading it carefully to believe he
had to enroll as a Democrat to vote for
a Democratic Mayor, but many people
do not read the blanks and are in-
fluenced by the prevailing impression
that a person after enrolling in one party
cannot or should not vote for a candi-
date of another.

Socialists Lose 40 Per Cent.

The Socialist enrollment for this year
is 26,422 less than last year, a falling
off of more than 40 per cent., the
Prohibition enrollment slumped 2,511, or
50 per cent., from 5,308 to 2,511.

The Farmer-Labor party, exercising
all the privileges of a full fledged party
for the first time, has 2,706 enrolled
members.

Comparative enrollments of the Re-
publican, Democratic and Socialist par-
ties taken in the years 1919, 1920 and
1921 follow:

	Rep.	Dem.	Soc.
1921.....	382,993	663,836	31,466
1920.....	643,830	531,167	57,888
1919.....	382,993	545,967	54,671

The Democrats are ahead in enroll-
ment in every one of the five counties.

In particular the outer boroughs of
Brooklyn and Queens show a reversal
of the Bronx and Richmond and nearly two
to one in Queens. In New York they have
an excess of 81,338 and in Kings of only
28,284.

A table showing the Republican and
Democratic enrollment, divided into
males and females and totaled, for each
of the five counties follows:

4.....	3,423	2,672
4.....	6,795	5,591
5.....	4,496	3,833
6.....	5,381	3,339
Totals.....	27,763	18,140
RICHMOND		
Republican.		
A. D.	Males.	Females.
1.....	2,716	2,359
2.....	2,953	1,837
Totals.....	5,669	4,176

Totals..... 278,881 172,702 451,443 446,415 212,421 663,836

Of the Republican enrollment about 38 per cent. is represented by women,
while the percentage of women to the total in the Democratic party is something
less than 33 per cent.

The enrollment figures for the two leading parties by Assembly districts in
each of the five counties are:

NEWCASTLE, Pa., Jan. 7.—John Kluppa, a railroad brakeman here, to-day admitted he had shot and killed Private Fitzgerald in a prison camp outside of Bordeaux, France, as testified by Edwin Duner, before the Senate committee investigating charges that Americans were hanged without trial.

In a signed statement Kluppa declares the shooting was entirely accidental, however. He says that in an alterca-

Totals..... 96,495 61,235 154,730 158,285 77,783 236,068

BRONX COUNTY.

As he was returning the life guard, he says, it exploded, fatally injuring the private. Kluppa says that Duner was in a detention camp fifty feet from the shooting and was not concerned in it.

JUDICIARY BILL CHANGED.

Senate Plan Calls for Eighteen Additional Judges.

Totals..... 32,069 18,515 50,584 70,451 36,197 106,648

KINGS COUNTY.

of judges, virtually agreed to-day to sidetrack the House bill providing twenty-one more judgeships and substitute Senate plan for eighteen additional judges to be named at large instead of by circuits, as proposed in the House measure.

Totals..... 119,685 70,690 190,381 147,375 70,990 217,065

QUEENS COUNTY.

	Republican.	Dem.				
A. D.	Males.	Females.	M. & F.	Males.	Females.	M. & F.
1.....	2,805	1,341	4,146	10,053	4,887	14,940
2.....	2,922	1,627	4,549	9,687	1,927	11,614
3.....	6,284	2,777	9,061	9,802	4,580	14,382
4.....	6,796	5,501	12,297	7,863	3,800	11,663
5.....	6,080	4,255	10,335	8,092	4,244	12,336
6.....	5,281	3,330	8,611	8,285	3,837	12,122

Totals..... 27,763 18,140 45,903 55